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II. — *Age at Marriage and at Death in the Roman Empire.*

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I. *Age at Marriage.*

THE general consensus of opinion among scholars in regard to the age of women at marriage in the ancient Roman Empire is that the average age was 14 years. This is the view presented by the last editions of Marquardt's "*Privatleben der Roemer*" (p. 29), Becker's "*Gallus*" (II, 12), Nissen's "*Italische Landeskunde*" (I, 410), and Friedlaender's "*Sittengeschichte*" (I, 565). The principal arguments which have led to this conclusion are as follows:—

- (1) A statement in Epictetus on age at marriage;
- (2) the age of puberty in ancient Rome;
- (3) the legal age at marriage;
- (4) instances of the age at marriage contained in ancient authors;
- (5) the record of the age at marriage in inscriptions.

This last argument seems to be generally regarded as the most important, since Friedlaender collected a large number of inscriptions which record the age of women at marriage; and the conclusion at which he has arrived in a special article devoted to this subject in his "*Sittengeschichte*" (I, 565–574, 6th ed.) seems to be universally accepted without question.

Becker and Friedlaender lay special stress on what they regard as the definite statement of Epictetus on the average age of women at marriage (*Enchiridion*, 40): αἱ γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κυρίαι καλοῦνται. τοιγαροῦν, ὁρῶσαι, ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐταῖς πρόσσεστι, μόνον δὲ συγκοιμῶνται τοῖς ἀνδράσι, ἄρχονται καλλωπίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάσας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας. προσέχειν οὖν ἄξιον, ἵνα αἰσθῶνται, διότι ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τιμῶνται, ἢ τῷ κόσμῳ φαίνεσθαι καὶ αἰδήμονες.

When our author says that girls of 14, seeing no other course open to them in life, marry and devote themselves to personal adornment, every one will recognize, I think, that this partakes of the nature of satire or caricature, and that the element of exaggeration applies not merely to the unworthy occupation of women, but also to the early age at which this begins. Epictetus is not here attempting to state accurately an historical fact, but he wishes for rhetorical effect to make the contrast as strong as possible between the low aims held by women and the ideals which they should have before them. The words of the stern Stoic who sets forth so forcibly the wickedness of the world cannot be interpreted in the same spirit as those of the historian. We have learned at length not to treat Aristophanes and Juvenal as historians, and the principle may well be extended to include such statements as the one before us.

Even if we regard this passage as a serious attempt to state facts, it will not bear the interpretation put upon it. A French writer, for example, knowing that marriage of women at 17 years of age was common in his country, but aware also that the average age was 25, might in a similar spirit say that women of 17, finding no honorable vocation open to them, marry and devote themselves to dress. We should not be justified in saying that the author had made an incorrect statement in regard to the average age at marriage, for he does not attempt to state this. He would rather imply, as does Epictetus, that the age mentioned was the period of life when the attention of women was especially directed to marriage and when marriage became common. The year mentioned would be nearer the beginning of the marriageable age than the mean age at marriage.

Even if this statement of Epictetus was intended to give the average age at marriage, still it would not deserve to be accepted without strong corroborative evidence. It would rather illustrate a tendency noticed in all times to exaggerate the youth of women in southern climes at the time of marriage, a tendency which even Friedlaender has not escaped. As late as in the fifth edition of his "*Sittengeschichte*" he

quotes statements to prove that marriage of girls between the ages of 12 and 15 is the rule rather than the exception in some parts of modern Italy. In the sixth or last edition he discards all these statements and allows that the average age at marriage in Italy is as late as 23 years and 10 months. Mulhall places the mean marrying age for women in Italy at 25.4 years. The difference between the mean marrying age in southern and northern countries is not so great as is generally supposed. While as a rule the mean age at marriage is somewhat lower in southern countries, it is not always so. The percentage of those who marry under 20 years of age is for Italy 17.1, for England 14.9, for France 20.4, whereas for Russia it is 57.3.¹

It does not seem to me that the fact that the legal age of marriage in Rome was 12 years and that the age of puberty was placed at the same age should be considered as arguments that the medium marrying age was as early as 14. In England and France the legal age of marriage is 15, and the age of puberty is about the same. The medium marrying age is for England 25.5 and for France 24.9, or a difference of about 10 years between the medium marrying age on the one hand and the legal age of marriage and the age of puberty on the other. There is no reason to suppose that this difference in ancient times was only one-fifth of what it is in modern times.

In this connection we may notice a similar argument used by Friedlaender. C. I. L. X, I, 6328 and VIII, I, 1641 refer to provisions made for the support of girls till the age of 13 and for boys till the age of 15 in the one case and 16 in the other. Hadrian fixed the limit in similar cases for boys at 18 and for girls at 14. Friedlaender assumes the age fixed for girls as that at which they might be expected to marry. If the age here mentioned bears any relation to marriage, it denotes the beginning of the period at which marriage became common rather than the mean age at marriage. It seems, however, more reasonable to explain it in the case

¹ Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics," 381.

of the girls as Friedlaender does in the case of the boys, as denoting the age at which they could take care of themselves.

Very little importance is usually attached to the few instances of early marriages mentioned in Roman writers. Only about half a dozen cases are mentioned by ancient authors, and even some of these seem to be referred to simply as noteworthy exceptions. They cannot accordingly furnish an argument of any weight in determining the mean age at marriage.

The most important part of Friedlaender's article relates to the evidence obtained from inscriptions. He presents what purports to be a complete collection of ages at marriage from the C. I. L. and from other sources, as far as these were accessible to him. In this list he includes without question two inscriptions¹ which he quotes as representing girls as married at the age of seven, though he does not include one² which places the age of a girl at the time of marriage at six years. It will appear evident to all, I think, that these three inscriptions belong to the same category as one³ in which the figures represent a boy one year and six days old as married, or another⁴ which records the marriage of a girl of three years of age. In all such inscriptions — and there are a considerable number of them — the figures are manifestly incorrect.

Friedlaender also includes in his collection those inscriptions which refer to women under the age of 18 as already married. This does not contribute towards ascertaining the medium marrying age which he is attempting to find. It

¹ Fried., page 564, quotes Murat. 1368, 9 (C. I. L. VI, 3, 21562), and page 565, IX, 3710.

We should, however, notice that in the case of the second inscription (IX, 3710) the C. I. L., the authority which Friedlaender here quotes, indicates that something is lost at the end of the line between the ANN. and XXXI which begins the next line. X or XX may have stood at the end of the line. It is not uncommon to find the age indicated by the repetition of X, even though the age is forty years or more, and also to find the figures indicating the age divided and given partly in one line and partly in the next.

² C. I. L. XIV, 3718.

³ VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29544.

⁴ IX, 1530

merely shows that early marriages existed, without giving any clue to the percentage.¹

One may take exception, it seems to me, to the method used by Friedlaender in obtaining the age at marriage in the case of those inscriptions which give the length of life merely in years but specify the length of married life more definitely. For example, when a girl is represented as dying at the age of 13 and as married 100 days, he considers her as married between the ages of 12 and 13. It seems to me that it is more accurate to consider her as married at the age of 13, as it is not implied that at the time of her death she was just 13. The fraction of the year is in this case omitted, that which is the most common method of indicating the age at death. It is not probable that in cases in which the age is specified merely in years that the year nearest the birthday was given. A girl would be called 13 until she had completed her thirteenth year. This is illustrated by such inscriptions as

III, 1, 3989.

QVAE VIX ANN XXXVII . . . IN XXX | ET VIII ASCENDENS.

I do not regard this point of great moment, but I think it shows a tendency on the part of the author to make the mean age at marriage appear as low as possible.

As the C. I. L. is so nearly completed and forms the best basis of investigation, I have confined my collection of statistics to this source. I have not included in my list such cases as may be found in other collections of inscriptions. Though my list is far more complete than that of Friedlaender, even in the case of those volumes which are cited by him, I would not claim that no instances have been overlooked by me. There are more omissions and errors in Friedlaender's list than one would expect to find in the

¹ A large number of inscriptions cited by Friedlaender in his list of ages at marriage (pages 566-569) are of this character, and even some which are not so indicated by him, as page 567, C. I. L. III, I, 2997, and page 568, Orelli 4401.

sixth edition of this famous work. There are some seventeen cases omitted from volumes IX and XIV alone. Some inscriptions which he refers to as unpublished may be found in volumes of the C. I. L. which are cited in other parts of his article. On page 566, inscriptions VI, 2, 10867 and VI, 3, 19883 are thus referred to. X, 1, 2311 is given on page 567 and again on page 568. IX, 5748 on page 568 should read 5478. There are several other errors in citations, as on page 566, Henzen 7385, and page 568, Orelli 2693.

To the list of ages of women at marriage I have added a list of ages of men at marriage. This latter subject has received comparatively little attention, but it is often implied that the marriage of men usually took place soon after the assumption of the "toga virilis."

I have not included in my list the following inscriptions, in which the figures are manifestly incorrect :

XIV, 3718, which represents a girl as married at the age of 6.

VI, 3, 21562, which represents a girl as married at the age of 7.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29544, which represents the age of a boy as 1 year and 6 days.

X, 1, 2251, which represents the age of a boy as 11 years 5 months and 23 days.

In cases in which the age at death and the length of married life are specified more definitely than in years I have given the exact age at the time of marriage. In cases in which only one of these is given more definitely than in years, so that the exact age at marriage cannot be obtained, I have given the figures for both as they appear in the inscriptions.

AGE OF WOMEN AT MARRIAGE.

MARRIED AT 10 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 28257, lived 22 y., married 12 y. 30 d.

Rome.

VI, 3, 21273.

"

X, 1, 155; 10 y. 10 m.

Potentia.

XI, 2657, 10 y. 1 m.

Colonia Saturnia.

V, 1, 630, 10 y. 9 m. 4 d.

Tergeste.

III, Supp. Fasc. II, 9002.

Salonae.

MARRIED AT 11 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 18412.	Rome.
XIV, 1854, 11 y. 2 m. 5 d.	Ostia.
IX, 3011, lived 28 y. 6 m., married 17 y.	Ortona.
IX, 900.	Luceria.
XI, 1016, 11 y. 5 m.	Canossa.
III, 1, 3572.	Aquincum.

MARRIED AT 12 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 12387.	Rome.
VI, 2, 10867.	"
VI, 3, 19883.	"
VI, 3, 16304.	"
VI, 3, 20370.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29324, 12 y. 30 d.	"
VI, 3, 24072, 12 y. 3 m.	"
VI, 1, 3604, 12 y. 11 m. 14 d.	"
XI, 832, 12 y. 7 m. 27 d.	Mutina.
XI, 1077, 12 y. 6 m. 18 d.	Parma.
XI, 3830, lived 45 y. 5 m. 25 d., married 28 y.	Veii.
V, 1438, lived 30 y. 56 d., married 18 y.	Aquileia.
V, 6217 (Chr.).	Mediolanum.
III, 1, 2382.	Salonae.
III, Supp. Fasc. II, 9178.	"
VIII, Supp. I, 11665, 12 y. 11 m.	Thala.

MARRIED AT 13 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 14930, lived 45 y., married 32 y. 3 m.	Rome.
VI, 3, 16592, lived 30 y. 2 m., married 17 y.	"
VI, 3, 18703, lived 19 y. 8 m. 13 d., married 6 y.	"
VI, 2, 7384, 13 y. 1 m.	"
VI, 2, 13017.	"
VI, 2, 13300.	"
VI, 3, 20897.	"
IX, 1955, 13 y. 9 m. 27 d.	Beneventum.
IX, 1852.	"
IX, 1521, 13 y. 9 m. 20 d.	Pagus Veianus.
X, 1, 2311.	Putioli.
X, 1, 181, 13 y. 1 m. 25 d.	Potentia.
X, 1, 3768, lived 27 y. 9 m., married 14 y.	Suessula.
XI, 3757, lived 17 y., married 4 y. 10 m. (Chr.).	Lorium.
XI, 691, lived 23 y. 7 m. 15 d., married 10 y.	Claternae.
XI, 2834, 13 y. 11 m. 14 d. (Chr.)	Volsinii.
V, 2, 7539, lived 13 y., married 100 d.	Ad Bormidam et Belbum.
V, 2, 6545, 13 y. 8 m.	Novaria.

MARRIED AT 14 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 17475, lived 30 y., married 16 y. 3 m. 15 d.	Rome.
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 27590, lived 19 y. 8 m. 10 d., married 5 y.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 26724, lived 36 y. 2 m. 22 d., married 22 y.	"
VI, 2, 14534, 14 y. 29 d.	"
VI, 2, 7581.	"
VI, 3, 15606.	"
VI, 3, 20440.	"
VI, 3, 23044.	"
XIV, 1010, lived 34 y. 5 m. 23 d., married 20 y.	Ostia.
XIV, 963, 14 y. 5 m. 24 d.	"
IX, 2880, lived 15 y., married 1 y. 4 m.	Histonium.
IX, 5877, 14 y. 6 m. 14 d.	Auximum.
IX, 1983, 15 y. lacking one day.	Beneventum.
XII, 2398, lived 34 y. married 20 y. 10 m. 12 d.	Augustum.
XI, 489.	Ariminum.
XI, 3570 (Chr.).	Centum Cellae.
XI, 2536, 14 y. 9 m. 9 d.	Clusium.
V, 2, 7138, lived 16 y., married 2 y. 6 m. (Chr.).	Taurini.
V, 2, 6060, 14 y. 6 m. 14 d.	Mediolanium.
V, 1, 69, 14 y. 11 m. 26 d.	Pola.
III, 1, 2741, lived 23 y., married 9 y. 5 m.	Col. Claudia Aequum.

MARRIED AT 15 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 15075, lived 40 y., married 25 y. 3. m.	Rome.
VI, 3, 17840, 41, lived 37 y. 58 d., married 22 y.	"
VI, 2, 11682.	"
VI, 2, 13128.	"
VI, 2, 13383.	"
VI, 2, 14377.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 25361.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 26792.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 25962, 15 y. 11 m. 23 d.	"
IX, 5419 (Chr.).	Firmum Pisenum.
X, 2, 7971, lived 19 y., married 4 y. 3 m. 19 d. (Chr.).	Turris Libisonis.
X, 1, 4132, lived 21 y. 5 m. 10 d., married 6 y.	Capua.
X, 1, 641.	Salernum.
X, 1, 5897 (Chr.).	Ferentinum.
XI, 81,	Ravenna.
XI, 3299, 15 y. 8 m. 18 d.	Forum Clodi.
V, 1, 4850 (Chr.).	Brixia.
V, 1, 1710 (Chr.).	Aquileia.
III, 1, 1315, lived 26 y., married 11 y. 10 m.	Ampelum.

MARRIED AT 16 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 18532, lived 24 y. 10 m., married 8 y.	Rome.
VI, 3, 15519, lived 49 y. 6 m. 10 d., married 33 y.	"
VI, 2, 11939, 16 y. 3 m.	"
VI, 2, 13303.	"
IX, 5478.	Falerio.
IX, 4735, 16 y. 23 d.	Reate.
V, 1, 3996, lived 36 y. 8 d., married less than 20 y.	Ripa Lacus Benaci.
III, Supp. II, 9346.	Salonae.

MARRIED AT 17 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 12451, lived 17 y., married 4 m. 9 d.	Rome.
VI, 2, 10526, lived 32 y., married 15 y. 5 m.	"
VI, 2, 9072, 17 y., 3 m. 5 d.	"
XIV, 2271.	Ager Albanus.
XIV, 3737, 17 y. 7 m. 25 d.	Tibur.
IX, 5910, lived 47 y., married 30 y. 3 m.	Ancona.
V, 1, 3593.	Verona.
V, 2, 6377, 17 y. 1 m. 17 d.	Laus Pompeia.
V, 1, 1636, 17 y. 4 m. 24 d. (Chr.)	Aquileia.
III, 1, 4314.	Brigetio.
VIII, 1, 3407.	Lambaesis.

MARRIED AT 18 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 13853, lived 23 y., married 5 y. 2 m. 21 d.	Rome.
VI, 3, 18378, lived 31 y. 3 m. 20 d., married 13 y.	"
VI, 2, 8740.	"
VI, 3, 22791.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 25444, 18 y. 3 d.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 24656, 18 y. 6 m. 22 d.	"
IX, 5517 (Chr.)	Falerio.
X, 1, 427.	Volcei.
X, 1, 4388.	Capua.
V, 2, 7763, lived 42 y., married 24 y. 6 m. 11 d.	Genua.
III, 1, 3989, lived 37 y., married 19 y. 9 m.	Siscia.
III, Supp. Fasc. II, 9507.	Salonae.
III, 1, 1992.	"
VIII, 2, 9638.	Oppidum Novum.

MARRIED AT 19 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 26642, 19 y. 25 d.	Rome.
VI, 2, 11082, lived 32 y. 6 m. 5 d., married 13 y.	"
VI, 3, 15849, 19 y. 8 m. 12 d.	"
XI, 2872, lived 56 y., married 37 y. 5 m. (Chr.).	Volsinii.
X, 2, 7654, 19 y. 7 m. 5 d.	Carales.

V, 1, 1250, 19 y. 1 m. 15 d.	Aquileia.
V, 1, 1678 (Chr.).	"
V, 2, 6252, 19 y. 10 m. 26 d. (Chr.).	Mediolanium.

MARRIED AT 20 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 16199, lived 27 y., married 7 y. 9 m.	Rome.
VI, 3, 21714, lived 38 y., married 18 y. 1 m. 24 d.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. 25678, lived 29 y. 2 m. 13 d., married 9 y.	"
VI, 2, 14622, lived 33 y. 3 m., married 13 y.	"
VI, 2, 11683.	"
VI, 3, 17203.	"
VI, 3, 21497.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 27268.	"
X, 1, 4496 (Chr.).	Capua.
V, 2, 7453 (Second marriage).	Vardagate.
V, 1, 1620, 20 y. 4 m. 1 d. (Chr.).	Aquileia.

MARRIED AT 21 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 24337.	Rome.
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 28595.	"
VI, 3, 18930, lived 44 y. 9 m. 8 d., married 23 y.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 27235, 21 y. 6 m. 10 d.	"
IX, 1524, 21 y. 27 d.	Pagus Veianus.
V, 1, 1647, 21 y. 10 d. (Chr.).	Aquileia.
III, 1, 2199.	Salonae.

MARRIED AT 22 YEARS OF AGE.

XI, 1409, lived 22 y., married 7 m. 24 d. (Chr.).	Luna.
XI, 2451, lived 27 y., married 5 y. 6 m. 4 d. (Chr.).	Clusium.
V, 2, 6301, lived 42 y., married 20 y. 2 m. 28 d.	Mediolanium.

MARRIED AT 23 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 15615, lived 45 y., married 22 y. 6 m.	Rome.
III, 1, 2267.	Salonae.

MARRIED AT 24 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 21314, lived 41 y. 6 m., married 17 y.	Rome.
XIV, 1767, 24 y. 6 m. 27 d.	Ostia.
IX, 1968, 24 y. 10 m. 29 d.	Beneventum.

MARRIED AT 25 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 15106.	Rome.
VI, 2, 13582, lived 35 y. 5 m. 17 d., married 10 y.	"
VI, 3, 15581, 25 y. 2 m. 14 d.	"
IX, 659.	Ausculum.

MARRIED AT 26 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 15598.	Rome.
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MARRIED AT 27 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 1, 3496, lived 46 y., married 19 y. 2 m. 9 d. Verona.

MARRIED AT 28 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 17777. Rome.

MARRIED AT 30 YEARS OF AGE.

III, 1, 2225, lived 35 y., married 5 y. 25 d. Salona.

MARRIED AT 31 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 23194. Rome.

VI, 3, 23282. "

XIV, 1881. Ostia.

MARRIED AT 32 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 13364. Rome.

VIII, Supp. 1, 12951, lived 72 y. 10 m., married 40 y. Carthage.

MARRIED AT 34 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 3548. Rome.

V, 1, 4545. Brixia.

MARRIED AT 36 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 1, 4187, 36 y. 6 m. 14 d. Inter Cremona et Brixia.

MARRIED AT 38 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 2, 6465, lived 63 y. 5 m. 12 d., married 25 y. (Chr.). Ticinum.

MARRIED AT 56 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 23884. Rome.

AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN.

MARRIED AT 15 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 14442, lived 35 y. 6 m. 24 d., married 20 y. Rome.

V, 2, 5993. Mediolanum.

MARRIED AT 17 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 21650. Rome.

VI, 3, 23115. "

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 27508. "

VI, 2, 11137, 17 y. 6 m. "

IX, 1894, 17 y. 22 d. Beneventum.

X, 1, 5362, 17 y. 3 m. 10 d. Interamna Lirenas.

III, 1, 2868, 32 y. 3 m., married 15 y. Nedinum.

MARRIED AT 18 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 8984 (Chr.).	Rome.
VI, 3, 22020, 18 y. 2 m. 27 d.	"
VI, 2, 9711, lived 42 y. 3 m. 18 d., married 24 y.	"
X, 1, 3882, lived 38 y. 7 m. 20 d., married 20 y.	Capua.

MARRIED AT 19 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 14057, lived 35 y., married 16 y. 7 m.	Rome.
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 26430, 19 y. 9 m.	"
VI, 3, 15488, lived 23 y. with first wife, 44 y. with second, and 86 years of age when the epitaph was inscribed.	Rome.
XIV, 3806, lived 41 y. 10 m. 25 d., married 22 y.	Tibur.
XIV, 3517, 28 y., married 9 y. 7 m. 11 d.	Castelmadama.
XI, 3943.	Capena.
V, 1, 1535.	Aquileia.
V, 2, 7946.	Camenelum.
V, 1, 4506, 19 y. 2 m.	Brixia.

MARRIED AT 20 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 3860.	Rome.
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29116.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29677.	"
VI, 3, 20826, lived 35 y., married 15 y. 6 m.	"
VI, 2, 8737, lived 45 y. 5 m., married 25 y.	"
IX, 1933, lived 40 y. 9 d., married 20 y.	Beneventum.
X, 1, 237, lived 40 y., married 20 y. 4 m.	Grumentum.
X, 1, 4647, lived 31 y. 5 m., married 11 y.	Cales.
V, 1, 1620, 20 y. 4 m. 1 d. (Chr.).	Aquileia.
III, 1, 2272.	Salonae.
III, 1, 1834.	Narona.

MARRIED AT 21 YEARS OF AGE.

XI, 3756 (Chr.).	Lorium.
V, 2, 6252, lived 40 y., married 19 y. 3 m. 10 d. (Chr.).	Mediolanium.
V, 1, 1074.	Aquileia.

MARRIED AT 22 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 2160, lived 40 y. 3 m. 29 d., married 18 y.	Rome.
X, 1, 673 (Chr.).	Salernum.
X, 1, 5585, 22 y. 2 m. 28 d.	Fabrateria Nova.
X, 1, 3905, lived 70 y. 7 m. 10 d., married 48 y.	Capua.
V, 2, 6239, lived 25 y., married 13 y. 8 m. 22 d. (Chr.).	Mediolanium.
V, 2, 7404, lived 45 y. 9 m. 5 d., married 23 y.	Dertona.

MARRIED AT 23 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 13056, 23 y. 3 m. 18 d.	Rome.
IX, 2005.	Beneventum.
X, 1, 256.	Grumentum.
X, 1, 4364.	Capua.
V, 2, 6217 (Chr.).	Mediolanium.

MARRIED AT 24 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 13060, lived 40 y., married 16 y. 2 m.	Rome.
VI, 3, 17656.	"
III, 1, 2123.	Salonae.
III, 2, 6399 (Chr.).	Dalmatia.

MARRIED AT 25 YEARS OF AGE.

X, 1, 5991.	Signia.
X, 1, 6604, 25 y. 11 m. 22 d. (Chr.).	Velletri.

MARRIED AT 26 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 2256.	Rome.
IX, 869.	Luceria.

MARRIED AT 27 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 2482, lived 41 y. 5 m. 28 d., married 14 y.	Rome.
VI, 2, 9555, lived 30 y., married 3 y. 3 m. (Chr.).	"
XIV, 4009, lived 30 y., married 3 y. 5 m. 16 d.	Ficulea.
IX, 1994.	Beneventum.
V, 1, 1880 (Chr.).	Concordia.
V, 2, 6214, 27 y. 10 m. 12 d. (Chr.).	Mediolanium.
II, 551.	Augusta Emerita.

MARRIED AT 28 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 20116, lived 71 y., married to first wife 15 y., to second 18 y.	Rome.
IX, 4742, lived 48 y. 8 m. 7 d., married 20 y.	Reate.
X, 1, 418.	Volcei.
X, 1, 254, 28 y. 1 m.	Grumentum.

MARRIED AT 29 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 8878, 29 y. 11 m. 28 d.	Rome.
X, 1, 3544.	Misenum.
II, 4170, 29 y. 10 m. 8 d.	Terraco.

MARRIED AT 30 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 9226.	Rome.
VI, 3, 20847.	"
XIV, 2555.	Ager Tusculanus.

XI, 198.

V, I, 4848 (Chr.).

V, I, 1628, 30 y. 20 d. (Chr.).

Ravenna.

Brixia.

Aquileia.

MARRIED AT 31 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 14417, lived 42 y., married 11 y. 4 m.

X, I, 5992, 31 y. 2 m. 5 d.

V, I, 3996, lived 51 y. 3 m. 22 d., married less than 20 y.

Rome.

Signia.

Ripa Lacus Benaci.

MARRIED AT 32 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 22657.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 24380, 32 y. 2 m. 2 d.

IX, 2147.

Rome.

"

S. Agata de' Goti.

MARRIED AT 34 YEARS OF AGE.

X, I, 4536, 34 y. 20 d.

Capua.

MARRIED AT 35 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 20241.

V, 2, 6261 (Chr.).

Rome.

Mediolanium.

MARRIED AT 36 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 2, 6215, 36 y. 2 m. 25 d. (Chr.).

Mediolanium.

MARRIED AT 37 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 14010, lived 70 y. 10 m. 7 d., married 33 y.

Rome.

MARRIED AT 38 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 2, 8773 (Chr.).

Concordia.

MARRIED AT 39 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 28128.

IX, 1949.

Rome.

Beneventum.

MARRIED AT 40 YEARS OF AGE.

IX, 5566, 40 y. 5 d. (Chr.).

Tolentinum.

MARRIED AT 41 YEARS OF AGE.

X, 2, 7167 (Chr.).

Syracusae.

MARRIED AT 42 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29114, 42 y. 6 m. 10 d.

IX, 2249.

Rome.

Telesia.

MARRIED AT 45 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 9936 (Chr.).

Rome.

MARRIED AT 47 YEARS OF AGE.

IX, 2008, lived 55 y., married 8 y. 3 m.

Beneventum.

MARRIED AT 50 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 1, 1796, lived 80 y. 4 m. 8 d., married 30 y. Ad Tricesimum.

MARRIED AT 51 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 21875, lived 60 y. 3 m. 13 d., married 9 y. Rome.

MARRIED AT 57 YEARS OF AGE.

IX, 1654. Beneventum.

MARRIED AT 64 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 3551. Rome.

Friedlaender at the end of his collection of inscriptions says (page 569): "Es ist kein Grund anzunehmen, dass eine grosse Vermehrung dieser Sammlung wesentlich andere Altersverhaeltnisse ergeben wuerde." This statement is disproved by the fact that the mean age at marriage derived from the citations of Friedlaender is about 16, or two years less than that obtained from my list of ages at marriage. As his own list shows an average age at marriage considerably above 14, that period which he definitely states to be the average age at marriage (page 565), he attempts to obviate this difficulty by two unwarranted assumptions. He says (page 569): "Von den im Alter von mehr als 18 Jahren verheiratheten Frauen ist ohne Zweifel ein grosser, wenn nicht der groesste Teil schon fruher verheirathet gewesen." There seems to be no evidence to justify this statement; in fact, direct evidence to the contrary may be found in the inscriptions. I have collected 384 inscriptions of the city of Rome which give the length of married life. The average length of married life as obtained from these is about 24 years, nearly the same as the average of modern times. Though there may have been a tendency to record cases of long married life, still the figures incline us to the belief that marriage in Rome, considering the population as a whole and not simply the upper classes, to which the literature of the times almost exclusively relates, was not of that unstable character which the writings of such authors as Juvenal would lead us to assume and which Friedlaender appears to have had before his mind.

Friedlaender's second assumption is as follows (page 569): "Auch ist zu bedenken, dass diese Frauen groessten theils den mittlern und untern Staenden angehören, in denen Armuth, der Mangel einer Mitgift u. s. w. noch leichter die Verheirathung verzögern konnte, als in den hoehern; in diesen wird also um so mehr Verheirathung bald noch vollendetem zwölften Jahr fuer das Gewoehnliche zu halten sein." This is directly opposed to all that modern statistics teach us with regard to the mean marrying age in the different classes of society. (Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Sociology*, 103 ff.) There is no reason to suppose that the law which prevails in modern society does not hold good for ancient times. As the poor in Rome were largely maintained at the expense of the state, there would be an added cause for the early marriage of the lower classes in the metropolis.

I should not be inclined to place the average age at marriage of women as early as 18 years of age, though this is the average obtained from the list of ages cited above. There is a marked tendency on the part of the Romans in composing epitaphs to record the age at death, the age at marriage, and the length of married life, when these are in some degree exceptional. This fact, which is an important one to bear in mind in drawing inferences from the figures presented by the epitaphs, has apparently always been overlooked. The tables of the ages at death which follow, clearly show that deaths between the ages of 45 and 60, or the period of "senectas," are not recorded in like proportion as those occurring at other periods of life. The same tendency may be noted in the records of the length of married life. The 290 epitaphs of the city of Rome, which merely record the length of married life but do not mention the age at marriage nor the age at death, give as the average length of married life 26 years, whereas the 94 of the city of Rome which give the age of marriage directly, or indirectly by stating the length of married life and the age at death, give an average of only 17 years. It is not probable that this is mere accident, but that when the length of married life alone was given there was a tendency to record cases above the normal length.

A tendency to record early marriages may also be observed. This is especially apparent when the age of the girl at marriage is definitely given, as in VI, 3, 20370, and VI, 2, 10867, and also in cases in which the youth of the girls is emphasized by such expressions as "a prima aetate" (XIV, 963) even in connection with the statement of the age at death and the length of married life, and "ab infantia" (VI, 3, 15488).

My conclusion that the average age of women at marriage is far from being so low as is usually maintained is further strengthened by considering the average age of men at marriage as far as this may be ascertained from the inscriptions. Here I find, instead of an average of 17 years, as is often given, an average of 26. This figure seems to me to represent more nearly the average age of men at marriage in ancient Rome than the average which we obtain for women from the records of the inscriptions, for the reason that there is not the same tendency to record early marriages in the case of men as we noted in the case of women. The absence of this motive to mention the age of men at the time of marriage would account in part for the fact that their age at marriage is not so frequently mentioned as that of women.

II. *Age at Death.*

There seems to be a general impression among students of Roman life that from the records of the inscriptions we may form some idea of the average length of human life in the ancient Roman Empire. Nissen, in his admirable work "*Italische Landeskunde*," says (page 411): "Die Sammlung der stadtroemischen Inschriften wird einen nuechternen ziffermaessigen Commentar gewahren zu den Schilderungen der socialen Zustaende, die wir in der Litteratur lesen. Die mittlere Lebensdauer erscheint ueberaus kurz, Kindersegen in heutigen Sinne unerhoert." Professor Zimmermann, in an article entitled "*Der kulturgeschichtliche Wert der roemischen Inschriften*," has arrived at conclusions directly opposed to those of Nissen in respect to the length of life in ancient times. He has compared the percentage of those who are

given in C. I. L., II, as dying at the age of 70 or over, with that of those who died in Posen in the year 1884 at a corresponding age. He says (page 20): "Das Ergebniss dieser Vergleichung war, dass der Prozentsatz der siebenzig und mehrere Jahre alt Gewordenen im damaligen Spanien $11\frac{7}{8}$ betrug, waerend der fuer 'Posen' nur $9\frac{5}{12}$ hoch war. Bedenkt man nun noch, um wie viel geringer damals die persoenliche Sicherheit war . . . so wird man daraus doch vielleicht auch den Schluss ziehen koennen, dass die Leute damals im Verhaeltnisse ebenso alt geworden, wie heute." This he uses as the basis of the following important conclusion: "Steht aber Sittlichkeit und langes Leben irgendwie in Wechselwirkung, so konnten auch die Menschen jener Zeit so schlecht nicht gewesen sein."

Neither of these writers has tabulated the facts to which they refer, nor has any one else before performed this work. Indeed, the task was impossible before the publication of the C. I. L. Previously Latin inscriptions were scattered throughout three or four thousand volumes. The majority of the texts were produced without critical spirit, and a large number of false inscriptions (about one-tenth of the whole number) were included with the genuine.

It has seemed to me that a tabulation of these statistics would be useful and would present the facts clearly to the eye, and scholars would no longer be left to draw impressions from a general reading which could not be trusted to give any accurate idea where so many thousand cases are concerned. This will at least help us to ascertain whether these figures are capable of showing what the average length of life was in ancient times as compared with modern times.

These statistics are derived chiefly from the sepulchralia, which form more than half in number of the inscriptions of the C. I. L. and more than two-thirds of the inscriptions of the city of Rome.

I have tabulated all the ages contained in the C. I. L. as far as published. I have included the Christian inscriptions as well as the Pagan, for the reason that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish them. The Christians were subject

to the same general conditions of life as the Pagans, and if a greater purity of morals tended to lengthen their lives the number of Christian inscriptions included in the corpus is so small that the general results are not materially affected by them.

Very doubtful cases have been omitted ; for example, if the inscription contained an X with the part before or after it broken, so that the age might have been anywhere from 9 to 90, it has been omitted from the account ; whereas if the inscription showed LX, for example, with a break after it, though the age might have been 90 or upwards, it has been counted as 60 ; but these cases again are so few that they will not materially affect the results.¹ There are also a very few cases which are evidently mistakes of the stone-cutter. For example, III, 1, 2602 is the epitaph of a father to his son, whose age is represented to be ANNV CLI MESERVVM OCTO. Though CLI should perhaps read VII, this and similar cases have been entirely omitted. For Vol. VIII, I have made use of Seidel's² tabulation of ages, correcting these from the supplements to this volume which have appeared since he published his study, and I have added the large number of ages at death contained in these two supplementary volumes.

In tabulating the ages, I have arranged them in three columns. The first of these columns, over which "1" stands in each case, contains the number of those whose age is given even to the hour. The second, numbered "2," contains the number of those whose age is not given so exactly as those in column 1, but more definitely than merely to the year. The third column, numbered "3," contains the number of those whose ages are given merely in years.

In computing averages and percentages I have simply taken into account the years specified, inasmuch as by far the greater majority of cases are only given in years.

The number of persons whose ages at death are given in the C. I. L. amounts in all, according to my tabulation, to

¹ See C. I. L., III, I, 529, and 4189.

² "Ueber roemische Grabinschriften," von Dr. H. Seidel. 1891.

28,665. Among this number are included all ages and all classes, and we have almost the complete record of entire burying-grounds. If in ancient times it had been the custom to erect monuments to all who died, and to record the ages in all cases, we could obtain an approximate idea of the relative average age at death in ancient and in modern times. To take Rome as an example, we have reason to believe that nearly all, of all ranks of society, who had lived beyond the age of infancy were honored with a monument, but the ages are not in all cases recorded. On an average only one out of three or four epitaphs records these.

I have made out a table of the percentage of deaths in Rome for the different periods of life. This we may compare with a corresponding table for modern Italy.¹ In place of the .8 per cent which the epitaphs record as dying under one year of age, we will substitute 20 per cent, which we may infer from modern tables would not be far from the truth. The percentage for the different periods of life will then be as follows :

AGE.	ANCIENT ROME.	MODERN ITALY.
Under 1 year	20.	26.4
1 to 5	14.5	21.3
5 to 10	10.1	4.5
10 to 15	6.7	2.1
15 to 20	11.4	2.2
20 to 30	17.7	5.6
30 to 40	9.7	5.2
40 to 50	4.1	5.5
50 to 60	2.3	6.5
60 to 70	1.4	8.8
70 to 80	1.3	8.1
80 to 90 . . . . .	.6	3.4
Over 90 . . . . .	.3	.4

¹ The table for modern Italy is from Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics," page 175. On the same page may be found similar tables for several other countries.

Age at Death.	VI.				XIV.				IX.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
0	4	78	..	82	..	17	..	17	..	6	..	6
1	15	270	21	306	1	33	..	34	..	20	..	20
2	17	248	18	283	1	30	..	31	..	14	4	18
3	12	237	51	300	5	30	1	36	..	10	9	19
4	10	202	63	275	3	25	2	30	..	9	7	16
5	11	192	72	275	..	24	3	27	..	13	8	21
6	16	178	54	248	1	20	4	25	..	17	2	19
7	8	144	63	215	1	17	4	22	..	12	11	23
8	8	135	64	207	1	15	4	20	..	11	4	15
9	8	99	62	169	..	19	3	22	..	7	12	19
10	6	119	44	169	1	12	4	17	..	7	5	12
11	6	77	43	126	..	11	1	12	..	13	3	16
12	9	74	55	138	2	10	3	15	..	6	11	17
13	2	84	43	129	..	12	9	21	..	8	8	16
14	2	62	59	123	1	13	6	20	..	11	13	24
15	6	84	56	146	1	12	5	18	..	13	6	19
16	2	93	76	171	1	8	6	15	..	11	6	17
17	6	98	65	169	..	8	4	12	..	16	14	30
18	4	129	165	298	..	14	3	17	..	12	22	34
19	4	89	91	184	2	16	8	26	..	7	18	25
20	6	69	230	305	1	12	6	19	..	11	24	35
21	..	60	73	133	..	7	8	15	..	6	5	11
22	9	75	126	210	1	10	5	16	..	11	14	25
23	5	66	77	148	..	4	4	8	..	8	14	22
24	2	50	73	125	..	9	7	16	..	7	7	14
25	3	72	215	290	2	9	12	23	..	10	21	31
26	4	34	76	114	2	3	2	7	..	2	7	9
27	5	33	94	132	..	6	7	13	..	7	11	18
28	7	30	106	143	..	5	10	15	..	3	5	8
29	8	30	42	80	..	4	4	8	..	1	1	2
30	3	56	317	376	3	5	13	21	1	6	28	35
31	2	15	23	40	..	5	3	8	..	2	1	3
32	..	30	58	88	..	3	2	5	..	6	6	12
33	2	21	47	70	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	6
34	1	12	28	41	..	3	1	4	..	1	2	3
35	1	41	219	261	..	6	12	18	..	2	29	31
36	1	23	38	62	..	1	3	4	..	1	2	3
37	1	13	48	62	..	1	..	1	..	2	6	8
38	..	17	42	59	..	..	1	1	..	2	3	5
39	2	10	11	23	..	..	1	1	..	1	2	3
40	..	37	212	249	1	6	11	18	..	4	24	28
41	..	7	19	26	..	2	2	4	..	..	3	3
42	1	12	22	35	..	1	..	1	..	..	6	6
43	..	..	14	14	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	1
44	..	5	15	20	..	1	1	2	..	..	1	1
45	1	14	116	131	..	2	4	6	..	2	12	14
46	..	4	13	17	..	2	..	2	..	1	1	2
47	..	10	10	20	..	2	1	3	..	..	2	2
48	..	8	14	22	..	1	1	2	..	1	..	1

Age at Death.	VI.				XIV.				IX.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
49	2	4	9	15	..	1	1	2	..	1	..	1
50	1	18	85	104	..	6	5	11	..	4	19	23
51	..	5	5	10	..	3	..	3	..	..	1	1
52	..	4	8	12	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	4
53	..	5	2	7	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
54	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
55	..	10	36	46	..	2	1	3	..	1	16	17
56	..	4	5	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
57	..	2	7	9	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
58	..	3	9	12	..	1	2	3	1	1	..	2
59	..	2	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
60	1	11	79	91	..	..	3	3	1	..	24	25
61	..	1	3	4	..	1	1	2	..	2	4	6
62	1	4	10	15	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1
63	..	3	5	8	..	..	3	3	..	..	2	2
64	..	1	7	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
65	..	5	27	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	7
66	..	2	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
67	7	7	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
68	..	1	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
69	1	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
70	1	6	48	55	..	3	2	5	..	5	12	17
71	..	2	4	6	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..
72	..	1	6	7	..	1	..	1	..	3	..	3
73	6	6	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	2
74	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
75	..	3	26	29	..	1	3	4	..	..	6	6
76	..	2	4	6	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
77	..	3	5	8	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	2
78	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
79	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
80	1	7	56	64	..	..	5	5	..	..	16	16
81	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
82	4	4	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
83	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
84	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
85	..	1	16	17	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	2
86	..	1	2	3	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
87	2	..	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
88	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
89
90	..	3	17	20	..	1	4	5	..	1	2	3
91	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
92	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
93	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
94	2	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
95	..	2	2	4	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..
96	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
97	..	1	4	5	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1

Age at Death.	VI.				XIV.				IX.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
98	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
99	..	I	I	2	..	..	..	..	I	I	..	2
100	I	I	..	..	I	I	..	I	..	I
101
102
103
104
105	..	2	I	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
106	..	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
113	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Age at Death.	X.				XI.				XII.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
0	I	9	..	10	..	7	..	7	..	I	..	I
1	..	41	7	48	..	9	..	9	..	2	..	2
2	..	39	6	45	I	10	I	12	..	12	..	12
3	..	38	9	47	..	3	3	6	..	13	I	14
4	..	28	13	41	..	15	4	19	..	11	I	12
5	..	24	8	32	..	..	7	7	..	6	2	8
6	I	20	13	34	..	8	3	11	..	10	2	12
7	..	22	12	34	..	9	4	13	..	7	I	8
8	2	27	8	37	..	8	I	9	I	3	3	7
9	2	20	10	32	..	2	4	6	..	3	2	5
10	I	13	13	27	..	6	3	9	..	2	2	4
11	I	12	9	22	..	3	3	6	..	5	I	6
12	I	10	18	29	..	6	5	11	..	5	7	12
13	..	20	20	40	..	4	4	8	..	4	5	9
14	..	15	8	23	I	3	4	8	..	3	4	7
15	..	21	16	37	..	4	6	10	..	4	4	8
16	..	19	16	35	..	3	4	7	..	4	7	11
17	2	25	23	50	2	7	3	12	I	5	7	13
18	..	25	35	60	..	10	7	17	..	5	6	11
19	..	11	21	33	..	4	4	8	..	I	7	8
20	..	22	39	61	I	2	14	17	..	5	15	20
21	I	15	16	32	I	6	14	21	..	6	4	10
22	..	20	20	40	I	6	6	13	..	9	13	22
23	..	14	23	37	I	6	11	18	..	2	4	6
24	I	16	18	35	..	5	6	11	..	2	3	5
25	..	22	48	70	I	3	13	17	..	6	11	17

Age at Death.	X.				XI.				XII.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
26	..	15	19	34	..	3	8	11	..	..	4	4
27	..	11	19	30	..	6	7	13	..	2	5	7
28	I	12	26	39	..	3	6	9	..	2	3	5
29	..	11	6	17	..	3	2	5	..	5	2	7
30	..	19	57	76	..	4	20	24	..	4	11	15
31	..	11	8	19	..	2	7	9	..	1	2	3
32	..	5	16	21	..	2	6	8	..	4	3	7
33	..	5	12	17	..	..	6	6	..	1	5	6
34	..	3	3	6	..	1	4	5	..	1	1	2
35	I	12	51	64	I	1	15	17	..	1	8	9
36	..	5	18	23	..	..	5	5	..	..	2	2
37	..	5	8	13	..	2	9	11	..	2	3	5
38	..	10	10	20	..	2	3	5	..	2	3	5
39	..	2	3	5	..	2	..	2	..	2	..	2
40	..	26	75	101	..	5	23	28	..	5	6	11
41	..	5	5	10	..	2	6	8	..	2	..	2
42	..	I	4	5	..	1	2	3	..	..	..	..
43	..	1	12	13	..	..	2	2	..	..	2	2
44	..	3	2	5	..	..	5	5	..	..	2	2
45	..	5	37	42	..	2	17	19	..	2	7	9
46	..	2	5	7	..	2	4	6	..	1	2	3
47	..	2	6	8	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	2
48	..	3	7	10	..	..	3	3	..	..	2	2
49	..	1	4	5	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
50	2	11	48	61	..	1	17	18	..	1	8	9
51	..	1	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
52	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
53	..	2	5	7	..	..	4	4	..	..	..	..
54	..	3	9	12	..	1	3	4	..	1	..	1
55	..	1	23	24	..	1	9	10	..	..	3	3
56	..	3	3	6	..	..	7	7	..	..	..	..
57	..	1	3	4	..	2	1	3	..	..	3	3
58	..	3	4	7	..	1	2	3	..	..	1	1
59	..	2	2	4	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	1
60	I	9	44	54	..	..	14	14	..	..	10	10
61	..	1	5	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
62	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
63	..	1	5	6	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
64	2	2	..	1	3	4	..	..	1	1
65	..	3	14	17	..	..	10	10	..	1	3	4
66	2	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
67	..	1	..	1	..	1	2	3	..	1	..	1
68	I	1	3	5	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..
69	1	1
70	..	8	24	32	..	1	12	13	..	1	6	7
71	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
72	4	4	..	1	5	6	..	..	..	..
73	..	1	1	2	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
74	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..

Age at Death.	X.				XI.				XII.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
75	..	1	14	15	..	..	7	7	..	..	2	2
76	..	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
77
78	2	2	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..
79	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
80	22	22	..	3	2	5	..	..	5	5
81
82	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
83	1	1	..	..	..	..
84	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
85	5	5	..	..	2	2	..	..	4	4
86
87
88
89
90	3	3	..	..	4	4	..	1	1	2
91
92	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
93	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
94	1	1	..	..	..	..
95	1	1
96	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
97
98
99
100	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	1
102	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
106	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
110	1	1
114	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Age at Death.	V.				II.				III.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
0	..	2	..	2	1	5	..	6	..	12	..	12
1	..	20	..	20	..	15	1	16	..	21	7	28
2	..	17	3	20	..	5	6	11	1	22	19	42
3	1	23	12	36	1	2	11	14	..	26	28	54
4	1	19	13	33	..	..	7	7	..	16	29	45
5	..	12	8	20	..	2	10	12	..	9	29	38

Age at Death.	V.				II.				III.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
6	..	13	8	21	..	3	5	8	..	8	20	28
7	..	8	13	21	..	2	5	7	..	8	38	46
8	..	8	6	14	..	3	5	8	..	7	27	34
9	..	6	6	22	..	3	14	17	..	7	20	27
10	..	6	7	13	..	5	10	15	..	9	28	37
11	..	6	5	11	..	..	8	8	..	2	11	13
12	..	6	9	15	..	..	23	23	..	4	25	29
13	..	6	9	15	..	..	10	10	..	3	16	19
14	..	7	6	13	..	2	15	17	..	2	20	22
15	..	6	13	19	..	..	21	21	..	7	25	32
16	..	7	13	20	..	..	28	28	..	6	29	35
17	..	10	13	23	..	1	25	26	..	4	18	22
18	..	12	18	40	..	4	44	48	..	4	54	58
19	..	9	6	15	..	4	19	23	..	4	25	29
20	..	11	24	35	..	2	88	90	..	8	125	133
21	..	7	19	26	..	1	18	19	..	5	18	23
22	..	12	15	27	..	2	39	41	..	4	33	37
23	..	18	18	36	..	..	30	30	..	5	23	28
24	..	11	9	20	..	4	16	20	..	2	19	21
25	..	5	19	24	..	5	94	99	..	9	115	124
26	..	8	14	22	..	1	26	27	..	7	28	35
27	..	8	16	24	..	1	25	26	..	3	25	28
28	..	6	9	15	..	2	22	24	..	5	29	34
29	I	5	3	9	..	3	9	12	..	1	9	10
30	I	9	32	42	..	1	84	85	..	6	215	221
31	..	1	2	3	..	..	12	12	..	2	14	16
32	..	7	4	11	..	1	16	17	..	1	28	29
33	..	2	2	4	..	..	12	12	..	1	18	19
34	..	5	4	9	..	2	7	9	..	1	11	12
35	..	5	21	26	..	..	55	55	..	5	95	100
36	..	2	4	6	..	..	8	8	..	..	15	15
37	..	1	3	4	..	2	13	15	..	2	13	15
38	..	1	5	6	..	2	6	8	..	1	28	29
39	..	1	2	3	..	..	1	1	..	..	4	4
40	..	4	25	29	..	1	82	83	..	4	140	144
41	I	..	1	2	..	..	11	11	..	1	..	1
42	3	3	..	2	3	5	..	..	13	13
43	..	1	..	1	..	..	7	7	..	..	8	8
44	..	2	1	3	..	..	5	5	..	..	7	7
45	..	1	12	13	..	1	47	48	..	4	54	58
46	..	2	3	5	..	..	4	4	..	..	11	11
47	..	1	..	1	..	..	6	6	..	..	9	9
48	..	2	1	3	..	..	8	8	..	..	7	7
49	..	1	1	2	..	..	2	2	..	..	4	4
50	..	5	11	16	..	1	53	54	..	4	89	93
51	..	4	..	4	..	..	1	1	..	1	6	7
52	1	1	..	1	3	4	..	..	5	5
53	9	9	..	..	6	6
54	1	1	..	..	4	4	..	..	4	4

V.					II.				III.			
Age at Death.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
55	10	10	..	..	27	27	..	..	21	21
56	4	4	..	..	3	3
57	3	3	..	..	8	8	..	..	1	1
58	6	6	..	..	4	4
59	1	1	..	..	3	3
60	..	1	18	19	..	..	65	65	..	4	107	111
61	13	13	..	..	6	6
62	2	2	..	..	6	6	..	..	6	6
63	5	5	..	..	6	6
64	1	1	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
65	..	1	6	7	..	..	28	28	..	..	27	27
66	1	1	..	..	4	4	..	..	4	4
67	2	2	..	..	1	1
68	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
69	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
70	..	4	8	12	..	..	50	50	..	..	71	71
71	..	1	..	1	..	1	6	7	..	..	4	4
72	2	2	..	..	5	5	..	..	3	3
73	1	1	..	..	5	5	..	..	3	3
74	2	2	..	..	..	..
75	..	1	5	6	..	..	30	30	..	..	21	21
76	1	1	..	..	4	4
77	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	1
78	1	1	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	1
79
80	..	2	10	12	..	..	22	22	..	..	53	53
81	1	1	..	..	6	6	..	..	1	1
82	1	1	..	..	..	..
83	2	2	..	..	..	..
84	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
85	..	1	4	5	..	..	10	10	..	..	8	8
86	2	2	..	..	..	..
87	1	1	..	..	1	1
88
89	1	1
90	..	1	5	6	..	1	3	4	..	..	9	9
91	1	1	..	..	..	..
92
93	1	1	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..
94	1	1	..	..	..	..
95	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	2
96
97	3	3	..	..	..	..
98	1	1
99	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
100	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	7	7
101	1	1	..	..	..	..
103	1	1	..	..	..	..
104	1	1

Age at Death.	V.				II.				III.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
105	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
108	I	I
110	I	I	..	..	I	I
113	I	I	..	..	..	..
115	2	2	..	..	..	..
120	I	I	..	..	I	I
125	I	I
135	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Age at Death.	VIII.				VII.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
0	..	48	..	48	..	I	..	I
1	2	75	20	97	..	6	..	6
2	I	46	41	88	..	..	I	I
3	..	39	72	111	..	I	..	I
4	2	18	57	77	..	..	I	I
5	..	27	94	121	..	I	..	I
6	I	20	40	61	..	I	I	2
7	..	14	71	85	..	..	..	..
8	..	17	52	69	..	I	..	I
9	..	13	58	71	..	..	..	..
10	I	7	69	77	..	I	3	4
11	..	11	62	73	..	..	I	I
12	..	7	76	83	..	..	I	I
13	..	24	83	107	..	2	4	6
14	..	17	65	82	..	I	..	I
15	I	18	143	162	..	..	3	3
16	..	19	66	85	..	2	I	3
17	..	19	93	112	..	..	I	I
18	4	20	105	129	..	..	I	I
19	..	10	84	94	..	..	I	I
20	I	27	252	280	..	I	3	4
21	I	16	167	184	..	..	..	..
22	I	26	119	146	..	..	I	I
23	I	15	109	125	..	..	I	I
24	I	10	40	51	..	..	..	..
25	I	29	385	415	..	..	4	4
26	..	13	72	85	..	I	I	2
27	I	17	106	124	..	I	..	I

Age at Death.	VIII.				VII.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
28	..	15	67	82	..	..	2	2
29	..	13	27	40	..	..	1	1
30	..	23	402	425	..	..	8	8
31	..	8	120	128	..	..	..	..
32	..	15	85	100	..	..	1	1
33	..	12	85	97	..	..	3	3
34	..	9	20	29	..	..	..	..
35	..	23	415	438	..	1	3	4
36	..	9	55	64	..	..	1	1
37	..	10	73	83	..	..	2	2
38	..	7	42	49	..	1	3	4
39	39	39	..	..	1	1
40	..	24	422	446	..	..	9	9
41	..	5	88	93	..	1	1	2
42	..	8	47	55	..	1	..	1
43	1	11	46	58	..	..	..	..
44	..	5	20	25	..	..	1	1
45	..	12	289	401	..	..	6	6
46	..	5	45	50	..	..	1	1
47	..	4	48	52	..	..	..	..
48	..	6	25	31	..	1	2	3
49	..	4	22	26	..	..	..	..
50	..	18	320	338	..	..	2	2
51	..	3	100	103	..	..	..	..
52	..	3	54	57	..	..	1	1
53	..	4	70	74	..	..	..	..
54	..	6	22	28	..	..	..	..
55	..	15	250	265	..	1	3	4
56	..	3	37	40	..	..	1	1
57	..	1	47	48	..	..	..	..
58	..	6	32	38	..	..	1	1
59	..	3	9	12	..	..	..	..
60	2	10	421	443	..	..	4	4
61	1	7	99	107	..	..	..	..
62	..	5	41	46	..	..	..	..
63	..	1	54	55	..	..	..	..
64	..	2	8	10	..	..	..	..
65	..	8	324	332	..	..	1	1
66	..	1	42	43	..	..	..	..
67	..	4	36	40	..	..	..	..
68	..	1	27	28	..	..	..	..
69	..	1	14	15	..	..	..	..
70	..	18	411	429	..	..	2	2
71	..	2	109	111	..	..	..	..
72	..	6	40	46	..	..	..	..
73	1	8	51	60	..	..	..	..
74	..	2	14	16	..	..	..	..
75	1	11	422	434	..	..	2	2
76	1	6	24	31	..	..	..	..

Age at Death.	VIII.				VII.			
	I.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	I.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
77	..	4	22	26	..	..	..	..
78	..	2	17	19	..	..	..	..
79	9	9	..	..	..	..
80	..	11	421	432	..	..	I	I
81	..	5	87	92	..	..	..	..
82	..	5	27	32	..	..	..	..
83	..	1	25	26	..	..	..	..
84	7	7	..	..	..	..
85	..	4	273	277	..	..	I	I
86	..	1	21	22	..	..	..	..
87	..	1	26	27	..	..	..	..
88	17	17	..	..	..	..
89	..	1	8	9	..	..	..	..
90	..	3	157	160	..	..	I	I
91	51	51	..	..	..	..
92	16	16	..	..	..	..
93	..	1	22	23	..	..	..	..
94	5	5	..	..	..	..
95	..	2	111	113	..	..	..	..
96	13	13	..	..	..	..
97	23	23	..	..	..	..
98	6	6	..	..	..	..
99	7	7	..	..	..	..
100	92	92	..	..	..	..
101	..	1	55	56	..	..	..	..
102	12	12	..	..	..	..
103	16	16	..	..	..	..
104	3	3	..	..	..	..
105	60	60	..	..	..	..
106	3	3	..	..	..	..
107	6	6	..	..	..	..
108	1	1	..	..	..	..
109	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..
110	..	1	31	32	..	..	..	..
111	8	8	..	..	..	..
112	2	2	..	..	..	..
114	2	2	..	..	..	..
115	13	13	..	..	..	..
119	1	1	..	..	..	..
120	..	2	12	14	..	..	..	..
121	3	3	..	..	..	..
123	1	1	..	..	..	..
125	7	7	..	..	..	..
127	1	1	..	..	..	..
130	1	1	..	..	..	..
131	2	2	..	..	..	..
132	1	1	..	..	..	..
155	1	1	..	..	..	..
160	1	1	..	..	..	..
170	1	1	..	..	..	..

Examining the figures, we find a very large proportion dying in Rome between the ages of 5 and 40 as compared with modern Italy, and a very small percentage after this period. The difference here indicated can hardly represent a real difference between the conditions of ancient and modern times. If we were to trust the figures, we should be compelled to believe that as large a percentage died in ancient Rome before the age of 45 as in modern Italy before the age of 75. We cannot suppose that there was anything like the difference here indicated between the average length of life in ancient and modern Italy. While Pliny the Younger speaks of 67 as an age which even the strongest seldom exceed (I, 12, 11), Pliny the Elder (*N. H.* 7, 50) mentions that in the year of our Lord 76 there were living in that part of Italy situated between the Apennines and the Po upwards of 100 persons between the ages of 100 and 150.

The most important statement which we have in ancient literature relating to length of life in the Roman Empire is the calculation of Ulpianus (Dig. 35. 2. 68) with regard to the expectation of life at different periods of life. His conclusions were adopted in the Digest to determine the worth of life-rights. These calculations were doubtless made with reference to the upper classes, among whom length of life would be considerably greater than among the lower classes. According to Ulpianus' statement, the expectation of life for those below 20 years of age was 30 years; for those between 20 and 25 was 28 years. These calculations of the Roman jurist are about 12 years less than the expectation of life as given in tables for modern England,¹ and about 12 years more than our tables for Rome present for the same periods of life. Taking the period of 55 to 60 years of age, Ulpianus gives the expectation of life as 7 years; for all over this age as 5 years. The table for Rome shows about 15 years as the expectation of life for those over 60 years of age, or a longer period than we find in modern tables.¹ This suggests that the ages of those who, according to their contemporaries,

¹ Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics," 355.

seem to have died before the natural time of death or to have lived to an unusual age were recorded in larger proportion than those who died between the ages of 45 and 60, and if we may judge by the number presented by the epitaphs, those who lived to a very advanced age in ancient times were very few as compared with modern times.

The average age at death of the 7994 cases recorded in Rome is 22.3 years. As we have already noticed, the children who died under one year of age are not recorded, and these, judging by modern statistics, must have amounted to at least 20 per cent of the whole number. If we take this into account, the average age at death would be only 18 years. If the population of Rome were constant in numbers, and that of France is nearly so, the mean age at death would be the same as the mean duration of life. The relation of these is chiefly affected by the relation of births to deaths. We have, however, reason to suppose that the births in Rome were not largely in excess of deaths; that in this respect ancient Rome resembled Paris rather than London. This is suggested, for example, by the various devices resorted to for the purpose of encouraging marriage, as the "*ius trium liberorum*." The average age at death, whether we make allowance for the omission of the records of those who died under the age of one, or whether we take the figures as they appear in the tables for Rome, is so low that our previous conclusions with regard to the omission of the age in the case of those who died between the ages of 45 and 60, is confirmed. As the method of recording ages was apparently the same among the different classes in Rome and throughout the empire, with the single exception of Africa, a comparison of the average age at death of different classes in Rome or of different parts of the empire will present facts of some interest.

If we compare the mean age at death of those mentioned in the alphabetical list of epitaphs of Rome (VI, 10424-29680) with the 1225 who are mentioned outside of this list and who belonged, as a rule, to the upper classes, we find the mean age at death of these to be a little more than four years

greater. We cannot arrive at accurate results with regard to the mean age at death of the upper classes as compared with the lower classes in Rome, but we should expect to find a greater difference than that here indicated. The difference between the mean length of life of the rich and poor in our modern cities has been given at 15 years and upward. That the difference in Rome was probably much less may suggest that the immorality and excesses of the wealthy shortened the average length of life of these as compared with the poor. We will give for the different volumes of the C. I. L. the mean age at death for all those over 10 years of age, although the averages are relatively nearly the same when all the recorded ages are included. Giving these in the order of percentage, beginning with the lowest, we have the following :—

- (1) VI, Rome, 29.3.
- (2) XIV, Latium, 29.6.
- (3) V, Cisalpine Gaul, 32.1.
- (4) X, Brutii, Lucania, Campania, Sicily, and Sardinia, 33.7.
- (5) IX, Calabria, Apulia, Samnium, Sabini, and Picenum, 34.8.
- (6) VII, England, 36.5.
- (7) III, Asia, Greece, and Illyricum, 36.8.
- (8) XI, Aemelia, Umbria, and Etruria, 37.1.
- (9) II, Spain, 37.8.
- (10) VIII, Africa, 53.3.

We thus see that the crowded city of Rome presents the lowest average. This is followed by Latium, which, in spite of the elaborate and extensive system of drainage revealed by recent investigations, must have been unhealthful in ancient times, though not uninhabitable, as a large extent of this territory is in our day. The remoter provinces as a rule furnish the highest averages. The average for Africa, when compared with the averages for the other parts of the Roman Empire, occasions surprise. Seidel, who, as I have mentioned, tabulated the ages of the first two parts of Vol. VIII, does not doubt the accuracy of the figures contained in this volume, though he finds 3.13 per cent living, over 100 years of age, with a maximum age of 155. The two supplementary volumes reduce this percentage slightly, but include the

epitaph of one who is represented as dying at the age of 160, and of another at the age of 170. As a rule, the epitaphs containing such records seem to belong to the ignorant and lower classes, and, among these, there has been noticed in all periods a tendency to exaggerate old age. It may well be true that the average length of life was greater in Africa, and especially in Numidia, in which a large part of these fabulous ages occur, than in other parts of the empire, as this province was healthful, and its inhabitants were chiefly engaged in agriculture. This view is strengthened by the figures before us, though we acknowledge that they show great exaggeration. When Cicero, in his *De Senectute*, seeks an illustration of great physical strength combined with great age, he mentions Masinissa, king of Numidia.

The marked difference between the usage of Africa and of the rest of the empire in recording ages, illustrates the fact that the civilization of Africa was more independent of the influence of Rome than any other part of the empire. It strengthens the view which we obtain also from other sources, that Carthage, a city second only to Rome in the Latin part of the empire, was the centre of culture for Africa and made this province somewhat independent of the influence of the metropolis. Here an ambition at least to appear cultured pervaded even the middle classes, and gives to the inscriptions of Africa a variety and interest surpassed only by those of the city of Rome.

My tabulation of the ages at death, as presented in the C. I. L., while not yielding the definite results which might have been hoped for, shows that the inferences drawn by such scholars as Nissen and Zimmermann, are not justified by a careful study of all the facts in the case. These figures, with their preponderance of records of early deaths, are not without bearing on the views of life and death entertained by the ancients. They suggest, as they record the length of life of children even to the hour, that the Romans did not regard their children as a burden rather than as a blessing, as has been so often maintained. They suggest, too, that while the death of the young was so full of sadness to the Romans,

calling forth some of the most pathetic and touching epitaphs which can be found anywhere, that the death of those who had reached old age was regarded, not as caused by the cruelty of fate, but as brought about by natural law, or by the kind hand of Providence.

In C. I. L. VI, 4, Fasc. I, we meet with the following oft-quoted epitaph : —

D · M | M · VLPIVS CERDO | TITVLVM · POSVIT | CLAVDIAE ·
 TYCHENI | CONIVGI · KARISSIM | CVM QVA · VIX · ANNIS |
 . . . II · MENS VI · DIEB · | III · HOR · X · IN DIE | MORTIS ·
 GRATIAS | MAXIMAS · EGI | APVT · DEOS · ET | APVT ·
 HOMINES

Orelli includes this in his collection of Latin inscriptions (II, 4636). His only comment on it is the exclamation "mirum dicterium," but this clearly shows the meaning which he attaches to the words. Prof. A. Zimmermann, in an article entitled "Der kulturgeschichtliche Werth der roemischen Inschriften," after speaking of the genuine grief which monuments raised to husbands and wives so generally display, adds (page 9) : "Nur eine Inschrift unter so vielen ist in einem unpassenden Tone abgefasst, es ist eine der Stadt Rom. Hier sagt der ueberlebende Mann : 'Am Tage ihres Todes habe ich meinen tiefsten Dank ausgesprochen vor den Goettern und den Menschen,' nachdem er sie kurz vorher seine theuerste Gattin genannt."

Friedlaender, who has devoted more attention to inscriptions than has any other writer on Roman life, in referring to women of the lower classes in Rome says ("Sittengeschichte," I, 516, ed. 6) : "Nur Grabsteine von Frauen dieser Staende sind erhalten, auf denen ihre hinterbliebenen Gatten ihre Tugenden ruehmen; einmal freilich gesteht auch ein Witwer mit naiver Aufrichtigkeit in der Grabschrift seiner Frau : 'An dem Tage ihres Todes habe ich bei den Goettern und den Menschen meinen Dank bezeugt.'"

This epitaph, though regarded as an unparalleled exception, may be compared with V, 1, 3122, which might as readily suggest a tone unfriendly to the dead. This monument bears the names of two wives. To the first the husband applies the expression "*uxori sanctissimae post obitum*" in contrast to the second, who is addressed as "*coniugi carissimae*." A similar interpretation applies to both epitaphs, and though they are somewhat awkwardly worded by those who raised these humble monuments, still they contain no element of satire. In fact, though the Roman thought the tomb not an improper place to record plain truths about the dead, even though these truths were not always complimentary, and even to indulge in puns and jest, still he never displays the spirit of satire or ridicule. There may be words of indignation¹ occasioned by the ingratitude of the one to whom the monument was raised, or pity² for the weaknesses of the departed, but epitaphs, unlike all other departments of Roman literature, bear no trace, it seems to me; of the element of satire.

In the case of the epitaph under consideration it would indeed be strange, and with Orelli we should exclaim, "*mirum dicterium*," if the husband, after inscribing the epitaph to his "*coniugi carissimae*," and after mentioning the length of their married life even to the hour, — that which is extremely rare and which almost in itself implies that every hour of their married life had been dear to him, — had in the next sentence thanked heaven that she was dead. Of course no one would deny that we must interpret the language of inscriptions by the usage of inscriptions, that we cannot expect in these epitaphs composed by the illiterate the logical clearness which characterizes Roman literature as a whole. We here meet with a boldness and license and a lack of propriety in the use of language which we do not elsewhere find. Expressions which, judging from the form, would seem directly opposed in thought are used to convey a similar meaning. For example, in VI, 2, 10703, we meet with the

¹ C. I. L. VI, 3, 20905.

² C. I. L. XIV, 636.

words "*filiae pater non merenti feci*"; though the literal meaning of these words is the opposite of 10696 of the same volume, "*coniugi bene merenti fecit*," it is intended to convey a similar idea. Again, in VI, 2, 6686, we find "*fecit libes animo*," and in VI, 4, Fasc. I, "*titulum tibi feci libenter*," but the meaning is not the opposite of the "*dolens posuit*" of XI, 557.

Though the writer of the epitaph under consideration has perhaps expressed himself awkwardly and with too great brevity, yet he used language whose meaning could hardly be misunderstood by his fellow-countrymen who were familiar with the usual brevity employed in epitaphs. The meaning appears perfectly clear to us when we compare the language here used with similar expressions which set forth the same thought more fully. C. I. L. VIII, Supp. I, 13134, is an epitaph inscribed by the wife in honor of her husband. The last sentence is as follows: "*Sed ago superis gratias, quod, dum e[g]o viver[em], nil voluptatibus meis negavit, quia et ipsa meruera(m).*" In C. I. L. VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29186, the husband returns thanks to his wife, "*cui semper gratias.*" Here the verb is omitted. In VI, 2, 14537, the form of expression used is, "*ago memoriae vestrae gratias.*" X, 1, 3162, is a fragmentary inscription which according to the restoration of Mommsen, and there can be little doubt with regard to the general correctness of his interpretation, reads as follows: "*cui ma[ritus] in die [funeris pia men]te grat[ias di]cit.*"

The epitaph we are considering differs from these last quoted simply in omitting some such expression as "*memoriae tuae*" or "*pia menta*," or some clause stating the reason for rendering thanks which would remove all obscurity even in the outward form. Other epitaphs of similar import might be added, but those already quoted are doubtless sufficient in number to remove any doubt with regard to the meaning which the writer intended to convey. We must accordingly acknowledge that this epitaph was intended as a genuine tribute of love and that its tone is far more pleasing than that of IX, 5813, "*quod fas non fuit monimentum feci: quod inprecabo (or increpabo) superos et iferos.*" These two

epitaphs illustrate the two views presented by Seneca (*Ad Marciam de Consolatione* XII, 1), and the one under discussion displays that attitude for which he expresses his preference: "Si confessa fueris percepisse magnas voluptates, oportet te non de eo quod detractum est queri, sed de eo gratias agere quod contigit."